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sure on her abdomen by encircling it with their arms while squatting behind her. Men are excluded from the clearing during the process of birth. It was said by two informants that occasionally wooden hooks were used to assist difficult births. Other informants knew nothing of such a usage. 844

A birth took place in Sawari during my stay there, and I happened to arrive in Turingbang settlement about five minutes after one had occurred. In both cases the mothers were up and about their household duties the next day, although obviously in a weakened condition. The babies were wrapped in old cloths and put to the breast immediately. The umbilical cord was buried in the bush with the placenta. The couvade practices are described in the section on Religion. 846

Both boys and girls are desired, although when asked to make a choice, men say that they prefer to have boy children because they are so much more useful. 842

Babies are bathed at least once a day in cold water. If a child cries at night, the mother frequently will get up and dash cold water on it to quiet it. 846

Personal names are of the nickname variety. When the baby is a few days old, the mother gives it a name. Alec's, for instance, was Apotopopo ("Big Head"). When the child reaches adolescence the parents give it another name; in Alec's case this was Tunde ("One who Carries Things"). The childhood name is used about the house as a term of address by other members of the family. There seems to be no tabu on the use of this name by other people, although a grown person is "ashamed" if his mother uses his childhood name. Jokes are made between grown persons on their respective childhood names. The adult name, however, is strictly a personal matter, and all persons past puberty are addressed in kinship terms. Only extremely close friends know each other's names, and this knowledge is regarded as a matter of confidence. Two men who have been very close to each other for a considerable time may be talking and laughing together. Suddenly one will say, "What is your name?" The other will tell him, and there will be an exchange of names. It is believed that a magician or, in some cases, a priest-doctor can work black magic more effectively against an individual whose name he knows. The name itself cannot be conjured with *per se*, but it is believed 553 [551] 553 754

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553 754 that a practitioner, if he knows the name, can more precisely identify the individual toward whom he wishes malevolent spirits and powers to direct their attentions. Thus Alec, my interpreter, during the four months we were in and about Sawari, although he was very popular with all the inhabitants, succeeded in learning the personal names of none of the individuals living in that settlement. When addressing him or speaking of him, they always used the relationship terms pamu and tseo.

551 A list of a few Carib names, the bearers of which were personally known to me, is given below. In each case they supposedly represent a name which has never been borne by any other individual. In cases in which the name is that of some animal, or an attribute of an animal, no idea of a guardian spirit or of personal totemism is involved, although an individual may be given a certain name because he in some way resembles a certain animal. For instance, James Hendricks is called Krapo (tree frog) because he is thin and nervous.

Male	*Female*
Patakai — Huri fish	Woko — powis, bush turkey
Muturu — black yarrau fish	Puma — short stature
Tanomi — red eye	Tumu — gray hair
Marasi — small camudi snake	Miaiwi — young girl
Marimidi — curly hair	Maipuri — bush cow
Karoshi — little chicken	Wararu — small crab
	Kondi — black child

853 Suckling continues either until an ensuing pregnancy or until the child is old enough to walk about. Lactation is not a bar to sexual intercourse, and women who are far advanced in pregnancy are frequently observed nursing children.

[861] 868 Children are rarely punished corporeally, although they are supposedly at the orders of their parents. After the age of about ten, a girl is started to work at household tasks by her mother, and a boy is taken hunting and taught the lore of the bush by the father, thus beginning their serious education in their respective 867 life tasks. Children are present at practically all affairs which take place around the house and settlement, and thus become familiar with the behavior of adults at an early age. Neither sex life, nor family quarrels, nor adult vices are mysteries to them, because they see these things from earliest childhood. At drinking

682 accident; in all other cases it is subject to retribution. Poisoning
627 may be distinguished from homicide in cases where it is not fatal;
poisoning itself is used as a form of retribution, but secretly, and
●[154] in any case, if the poisoner is discovered, the intended victim
feels that an offense has been committed against him. The same
is true of sorcery which is used as a means of retaliation. Prac-
tically speaking, however, if a Carib who has committed an offense
discovers his victim using either poison or sorcery against him as
a retaliation, he devotes his efforts to self-protection rather than
[208] to counter retaliation. Public opinion supports the use of poison
and sorcery as means of retaliating for an unprovoked offense.
On the other hand, the use of these measures because of mere
dislike, sadism, drunkenness, or anger is regarded as offensive and
properly to be punished.

685 Theft is the misappropriation of another individual's property.
All goods are individually owned among the Caribs. A man owns,
for instance, his field, house, hunting and fishing equipment,
canoes, ornaments, tools, the game he has bagged. A woman
owns the implements which she uses in field and house, the pottery
which she makes or acquires, the basketry (which is made, how-
ever, by the male members of the family), her clothing and orna-
[177] ments. Where the Indians have come in contact with prospectors
for gold, each man has private ownership in the gold creeks which
424 he has discovered and which he may sell. A sorcerer and a medicine
551 man each has ownership in his techniques and knowledge. All
the foregoing types of property are alienable in one way or another.
But each individual may also be said to own his or her personal
name, which is alienable under no circumstances. To prevent theft
and magical misuse of the personal name, an Indian guards it
closely and allows only trusted intimates to know what it is.
Names, for example, Big Frog, Curly Hair, Haimara (a fish), are
invented by the mother and given to the child in infancy. They
are based on supposed resemblance of the child to some animal
and imply a faint spiritual bond between the person and said
animal.[1] Communally held forms of property, if they may be so
called, are certain songs and traditions.

000 As in many primitive communities, in spite of the importance

[1] This is, however, only a hint of personal totemism or guardian spirit concept. I have found no trace of a set of formulated rights and duties between the person and the animal involved.

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The aremi emu is a professional sorcerer whose services may be enlisted to obtain satisfaction for a crime. The aremi is to be distinguished from his contemporary, the piaiyen or shaman, by the fact that the latter's functions are more decidedly religious and healing. In training and technique these two functionaries differ. The piaiyen's chief tool is the maraka, a rattle made from an empty calabash containing pieces of quartz which represent certain classes of spirits: the aremi does not use this paraphernalia as he does not have control of these higher spirits. The piaiyen puts himself into a trance-like state for communication with the powers by the drinking of tobacco water, whereas the aremi drinks pepper water, which produces a more violent reaction resembling fits. Now if a man has a grievance against another, he will go to the aremi in secret and ask him to take the case. The sorcerer's procedure with the intended victim is as follows. After getting in touch with his spirits by drinking pepper water, he will arrange to get near the victim in a casual manner. He will pick up some small object, blow tobacco smoke upon it, and without being noticed, will throw it onto the victim. The consequences depend upon the type of object which is thrown; for example, a piece of offal will cause the victim to rot away, a piece of wood will make him stiff. But these results will not appear unless the aremi has first blown tobacco smoke on the object. The tobacco smoke seems to be the embodiment of the aremi's power. For instance, he may merely draw near his victim and blow tobacco smoke on the unfortunate individual, making a wish at the time. If the smoke touches the victim, the wish will come true. Examples are related of men who have been turned into monkeys in this manner.

The victim, however, may save himself. If he feels that some harm is being done to him, he consults another aremi, who undertakes to discover who or what is doing the damage. An aremi can make such discoveries because he, with the help of his pepper water, can see and consult spirits in the night. He can see in a dark room as if a light had been lit. Having taken a case, he therefore works during the night, and next morning makes known his diagnosis to his client. He tells the client who is doing the mischief and why; and he prescribes certain food tabus which will neutralize the trouble-making machinations of the rival practitioner.

754 (If a client, in his ignorance, is unfortunate enough to consult the same aremi who has served his persecutor, this fact is concealed by the aremi in question, who proceeds to do more harm to the victim.)

754 791 A piaiyen does not usually use his power to obtain revenge for other persons, but he may use it for his own purposes, that is, to obtain redress for an offense against himself. His procedure is as follows. He removes one of the small spirit stones (tarikano) from his maraka, swallows it, takes a long puff of tobacco smoke, and points his hand at the victim. If he wishes to kill, the stone passes entirely through the body of the victim; if he wishes merely to cripple, the stone remains in the victim's body. In either case the wound is invisible. It is part of the training of the piaiyen to learn the technique of shooting. Upon swallowing the missile, the piaiyen moves his left hand from his neck to the right elbow joint, where the missile is held as in the magazine of a gun. Several "shots" may be kept in this storage space just above the right elbow joint. It is believed that a tube somewhat like the barrel of a gun extends from the piaiyen's neck to the elbow joint, and from the latter point to a small opening between the bases of the first and second fingers. I have several times been shown small scars which purport to be openings for the missiles of this anatomical shooting apparatus. With the "shots" held above the elbow joint, the piaiyen, when ready for action, takes a long inhalation of tobacco smoke and extends the right forearm in the intended direction. The force of the smoke is believed to be the physical agency necessary for the ejection of the shot.

755 If a man suspects that he has been the target of a piaiyen, he may consult another piaiyen, who will endeavor to remove the object from the patient's body. Practically speaking, this means that the supposed victim feels pain in a certain part of his body. He goes to a piaiyen who explores the spot with his hand and locates the offending missile. He then blows tobacco smoke on the spot and sucks out the stone, if it is there. In case the stone has passed entirely through the body of the victim, the operator obtains only blood as the result of his efforts. This sucking can be done anywhere, but if the trouble continues, that is if the rival piaiyen shoots further stones into the body of the victim, the healing piaiyen and his patient retire into the toakai, or consulta-

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794 If you wish to become a kanaima, you establish contact with a kanaima headman, who can usually be found hiding about in the bush. He teaches you the art. During the novitiate you sleep at home, but spend your days in the bush with your teacher. You are taught to enter houses without being seen, to twist joints and manipulate bones, to benumb the senses of your victim, and so on. One of the disagreeable features of the cult is that the members find the habit of evil doing difficult to break, so that after accomplishing the original purpose of revenge, the kanaima [691] continues to practice his outrages on innocent victims. For this reason, kanaimas are feared and may be killed on sight by all normal persons.

794 824 Kanaimas lead an abstinent life. They eat no meat, with the exception of the djokoro (dukwaru) bird, which, because it is not easily seen in nature, is believed to make them invisible. Other meat is believed to make them heavy footed. They eat a pimpler palm called kosako because doing so causes the kanaima's victim to have the sensation of being choked and pricked. They eat rupe, a white fungus which grows on dry wood, because it makes them light so that they can run fast. They drink only rain water which has collected in the hollows of leaves; creek water is not imbibed because it is running too strongly and makes the kanaima lose control of himself too easily, while the rain water is clear and makes him clear headed. At night they rub their skins with pepper, instead of building fires to keep them warm. As a result of these austerities, it is said that no animal will eat the body of a kanaima, the flesh being too rank.

794 754 [824] It is believed that kanaimas roam about the bush waiting for an opportunity to waylay a victim. Across the trail they stretch a spider web on which is rubbed the juice of a plant called kuraru. When the victim touches the web, he falls as in a trance, whereupon the kanaimas leap upon him, twist his joints, and stretch his tendons. They also carry a black powder made from the dried powdered root of a plant called masi. This powder, put in the mouth of the victim, makes him cough and sneeze and get a cold. If it is swallowed, the viscera decay. Victims usually do not remember enough of their experiences to talk about it afterward, but to prevent any possibility of betrayal, the kanaima may pierce the tongue of the victim with a snake's fang which he

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carries for the purpose. When they have finished their work, the kanaimas disappear, leaving their victim to regain consciousness alone. After a time he picks himself up and goes home where he soon develops fever, has aching joints, and speedily dies. Due to the fact that he cannot or will not talk, the unfortunate sufferer's friends and relatives are able to obtain no particulars which would enable them to seek out the kanaimas. The work of the kanaimas can, however, usually be recognized by the blue finger marks on the body of the victim, bruises left by the kanaimas while manhandling him.

There is no cure for the fever and "bone ache" resulting from an encounter with kanaimas. The kanaimas must simply be avoided. A small beeswax image made in the shape of a man, if carried in the bush, enables one to spot the anaesthetizing spider web, and often the kanaimas themselves, before harm can be done. A certain plant with roots resembling a closed fist, if hung in the house, frightens kanaimas away. As an antidote for the black masi powder taken internally, the slimy inside bark of the congo pump tureke is made into an infusion and drunk. (Sarusaru congo pump is not used for this purpose.) If the kanaima has put the powder on the victim's skin, the black banana sucker (mekuru myu) is pounded, soaked in water, and applied to the skin. After the kanaima victim has died, further precautions must be taken. The kanaima, to complete his task, must visit the grave and suck the waters of decay from the body, usually through a hollow reed which is inserted into the ground. If the kanaima does not succeed in drinking the body liquids he will die a horrible death; they purify his body in some way after the perpetration of the outrage. To forestall the kanaima, the body may be wrapped in the leaves of the small banana (puma' bu), which are poison for kanaimas, but not for other persons. Or the juice of the haiari (a fish poison) is mixed with some of the body waters and placed in a bowl on the grave. A kanaima's one aim at this point is to drink some of the body juices, however this may be accomplished. Finding in a bowl on the grave some of these juices, the taste and odor of which completely obliterate the slight acridity of the haiari, the kanaima is believed to drink unsuspectingly and thus be deceived.

In comment upon the beliefs regarding kanaimas, it must be

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association with a piaiyen, they will breed and multiply, so that as time goes on an original pair of stones will be increased to a large number, each one representing a spirit of the class to which its parents belong. Additional spirits are always useful to a medicine man, as they increase his importance by being available for errands and tasks which he can assign to them.

The spirits with whom a piaiyen is in contact are not believed to live in the rattle at all times, but leave some of their essence in the material form of the stones enclosed in the rattle. Spirits are believed to live in the same way as men in settlements in the bush, hunting, sleeping, making merry, but remaining invisible. Their settlements are not always identifiable, but open spaces in the forest are often pointed out as the clearings of certain settlements of spirits. Thus, an open space caused by the fall of several trees in a high wind is said to have been made for the purpose of habitation by the bush spirits, and consequently is avoided by men. If only one tree has fallen, it is believed that the spirits started to make a clearing and changed their minds. The water spirits are thought to live in settlements under the surfaces of the streams. Thus the Caribs, who have no anthropomorphic idols, nevertheless pay a sort of respect to these stones contained in piaiyen's rattles and believed to represent certain spirits.

In addition to the five classes of natural spirits just mentioned, there are a number of other types of spiritual beings whose connections with the five major classes are more or less indefinite.

The akatombo[1] are regarded as malevolent or mischievous beings who are forever present, waiting to make trouble. Medicine men do not keep these spirits under their control. They come of their own accord to medicine men who chase them away. The sorcerers, however, are more hospitable and sometimes have dealings with this class of spiritual being.

The tiger[2] spirit class is called ashushi. There are a number of different kinds of tiger spirits, just as there are a number of species of tigers in the bush. Other spirits are in fear of tiger spirits in the same way that men are afraid of actual tigers. Consequently, a

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, pp. 152–153, "The mainland Caribs term a person's shadow *ai-akaru*, and the spirit resident in this head, his Dream Spirit *aka or akari*; but after the latter leaves the body for the forest permanently, it is known as *aka-tombo* (*sic*)." The Barama Caribs repeatedly rejected this identification, insisting that the ghost was called yumbupa akasang.

[2] "Tiger" is the creole designation of any wild member of the cat family. True tigers, of course, are not native to the Western Hemisphere, but since the term is used in much of the literature, it is employed here.

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832 of use. Although very good results are reported from the use of certain love charms, only desperately unrequited lovers or individuals with adulterous or home-breaking intentions resort to such extremes. Prolonged coyness or indifference is not a noticeable feature of Carib courtship and before marriage, at least, it is only the extremely unattractive individual who cannot prevail upon the desired one to share a couch occasionally. Sexual communion seems to take the edge off romantic yearning. In short, there is little love of the "moon-calf" variety between Carib young people. A man who wishes to persuade a virtuous wife to leave her husband is the most frequent user of love magic.

754 **Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs and Practices.** The aremi emu, or professional sorcerer, is concerned chiefly in acting as magical agent for individuals who wish either to do harm to another person or to seek revenge. The functions and techniques of this practitioner are described in our chapter on Crime and Punishment because of their close connection with law and order.

754 791 It is well to point out here, however, that the methods of the aremi differ from those of the piaiyen in the following respects. (1) The aremi does not use a maraka or rattle, because he is unable to talk with the spirits which are represented by pieces of stone. (2) To induce the psychic state necessary for his art, the aremi drinks an infusion of red peppers, while the piaiyen uses an infusion of green tobacco. (3) The aremi, although able to divine trouble, is unable to talk directly with any of the more powerful spirits as the piaiyen does, but relies almost entirely upon magical practices. On the other hand, both medicine men and sorcerers use tobacco smoke in their practices.

Herewith are mentioned certain magical practices and beliefs which are within the scope of laymen.

224 789 The first time a dog is used for hunting, it cannot be allowed to eat the flesh or bones of an animal which it has hunted. If such occurs, the dog will be useless for hunting in the future. It is believed that contact with the animal flesh weakens the dog's powers of hunting. Orupere, a plant called by the name of a giant mythic snake (Myth 3) because the veins in the leaves are red and branch out like the tongues of this supernatural monster, is rubbed on a hunting dog's nose to make his smell keener. It is extremely difficult for any living thing to escape the clutches of

daughters under twelve years of age.

As is apparent, a man's position in a settlement was in part the result of his human capital of female relatives, sisters and daughters, and how he used these to attract men around him. However, a son-in-law was only a temporary dependent. In contrast, the associational bonds that developed between cooperating parallel kinsmen had no definite time span. There occurred varying degrees of cooperation as well as numbers of men involved, the only limit to the relocation of a household being the several months needed for a field to begin to be productive. However, in the context of the cooperation among related kinsmen, a general pattern emerges with regard to a man's life career. Except for old David, all the men in Sawari were younger than Miller, Cook, and Edwin. These three men, at about age forty, were no longer dependents as the younger men were, but were established in their own clearings. They were having different success attracting young men according to the contingencies of available female relatives as well as their personal qualities. When their energies and human capital were becoming exhausted, they again would be dependent members in a settlement, much as old David.

Such dispersed settlements, which fluctuated in size from about fifteen to fifty individuals, constituted the largest social unit (Gillin 1936:141). Within settlements, there was no differential access to local subsistence resources. Individual men who were shamans or sorcerers privately owned knowledge and magical skills, but this had little effect on their participation in the subsistence routine. A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in